

Witchcraft
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an abstract of this remarkable case
is given in Blackwood's Magazine
May 1854,

The Statute which made witchcraft a
felony was not repealed till 1736, & it
had not then become obsolete. Nor
was the case of Jane Wenham, the last
of a prosecution under it. In July 1716
a substantial farmer, of the name of
Hickes, accused his wife & child (the
latter a girl of nine years of age,) of
witchcraft. They were tried at the
assizes at Huntingdon before Wilmut.
were "visited by several divines," &
confessed their crime; & on the
prosecution of the husband & father,
the wife & child were hanged at
Huntingdon, on the 28th July 1716.

see Gough's Brit: Top; vol 1. 439

July 28th 1716

Contents.

A full & impartial Account of the Discovery of Sorcery & Witchcraft practised by Jane Wenham, &c. - also her Tryal. - - - London, 1712

Witchcraft further displayed, cont.
cases of Wenham, Newton &c 1712

A Defence of the Proceedings against Jane Wenham &c by Francis Bragge &c, by F. Bragge A.B. London. 1712.

The case of Jane Wenham occasioned also the publication of the following :-

An Account of the Tryal, Condemnation & Examination of Jane Wenham, 1 Sheet folio, 1712.

A Full Confutation of Witchcraft, more particularly of the Depositions against Jane Wenham, 8vo, 1712.

The Case of the Hertfordshire Witchcraft Considered, 8vo 1712.

The Impossibility of Witchcraft, in which the Depositions against Jane Wenham are Confuted & Exposed. 8vo, 1712.

The above are in the Brit. Museum.

Jane Wenham died June 11. 1730, & was buried at Hertingfordbury on the Sunday following, when her Funeral Sermon was preached by the Rev. - Squire, then Curate, See Clutterbuck's Hertfordshire vol II. p 461.

That she (Jane Wenham) might not
afterward (i.e. after the reprieve) be torn
to Pieces by an ignorant Town, a
Sensible Gentleman.. Colonel Plummer
of Gilston in the same County took her
into his protection, placed her in a
little House near his own where she
now lives (1720) soberly and inoffensively
and keeps her Church; and the whole
Country is now fully convinced that she
was innocent.

J. Hutchinson's Witchcraft
Lond. 1720 p 165

Dr. Hutchinson says "I have had the
Curiosity to see the good woman herself.
.. She is so far from being unable to say
the Lord's Prayer, that she would make
me hear her say ~~the~~ both Lord's Prayer
& Creed, and other very good Prayers
besides; and she spoke them with an
undissembled devotion, tho' with such
little Errors of Expression, as those
that cannot read are subject to.

A DEFENSE

Of the PROCEEDINGS

AGAINST

JANE WENHAM,

WHEREIN

The Possibility and Reality of *Witchcraft* are
Demonstrated from Scripture, and the
concurrent Testimonies of all Ages. In
Answer to Two Pamphlets, Entituled,
I. *The Impossibility of Witchcraft, &c.*
II. *A Full Confutation of Witchcraft.*

By FRANCIS BRAGGE, A. B.
Late of *Peterhouse* in *Cambridge*. Author of the
Account of the Proceedings against *Jane*
Wenham, and *Witchcraft* farther Display'd.

Concerning the Power of Enchantments, implying the Co-
operation of Invisible Powers, concerning all Sort of Entercourse
and Confederacy (formal or virtual) with bad Spirits; all which
things He that shall affirm to be meer Fiction and Delusion, must
thereby with exceeding Immodesty and Rudeness charge the
World with both extreme Vanity and Malignity; many (if not
all) worthy Historians of much Inconsiderateness or Fraud,
most Law-givers of great Silliness and Rashness, most Judicatories
of high Stupidity or Cruelty, a vast Number of Witnesses of the
greatest Malice or Madness; all which have concurred to assert
these Matters of Fact. Dr. Barrow, Vol. 2. p. 133.

L O N D O N: Printed for E. Curll, at the Dial and Bible against
St. Dunstan's Church, in Fleetstreet. 1712. Price 6 d.

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A. 174047
Just Publish'd the 5th Edition of

I. **A** Full and Impartial Account of the Discovery of *Sorcery* and *Witchcraft* practis'd by *JANE WENHAM* of *Walkerne* in *Hertfordshire*, upon the Bodies of *ANNE THORN*, *ANNE STREET*, &c. The Proceedings against Her, from her being first apprehended, till she was committed to Goal by Sir *HENRY CHAUNCEY*. Also her *TRYAL* at the Assizes at *Hertford*, before Mr. Justice *POWELL*, where she was found Guilty of *Felony* and *Witchcraft*, and receiv'd Sentence of Death for the same. *March 4. 171 $\frac{1}{2}$* . Price 5 d.

II. *Witchcraft farther Display'd*. Containing, 1. An Account of the *Witchcraft* practis'd by *JANE WENHAM*, since her Condemnation upon the Bodies of *Anne Thorn* and *Anne Street*, and the deplorable Condition in which they still remain. 2. An Answer to the most general Objections against the Being and Power of Witches; with some Remarks upon the Case of *Jane Wenham* in particular, and on Mr. Justice *Powell's* Procedure therein. To which are added, the *TRYALS* of *Florence Newton*, a famous *Irish Witch*, at the Assizes held at *Cork*, 1661. as also of two Witches at the Assizes held at *Bury St. Edmunds* in *Suffolk*, before Sir *Matthew Hale*, Lord Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*, by whom they were found Guilty, and executed, 1664. Price 6 d.

III. An Agreeable Criticism, of the City of *PARIS* and the *FRENCH*; giving an Account of their Present State and Condition. Their Virtues and Vices, Academies, Dress, Devotion, Levity, Women, Beggars, Writers, Booksellers, Diversions, Theaters, Gallantry, Language, Entertainment of Strangers. Their Lawyers, Pick-pockets, Physicians and Quacks, the Court, the Great Men, the King, and the Mob. The Tuilleries, Lamps, Chymists, and Clergy. Their Notions of Things, Houses, Eating-houses, Liveries, Conjugal Affection, Luxury, Vanity, Civility, Garrulity. Their Courts of Judicature, Invention, Affectation, Labour, Taverns, Climate, Trade, People, Fruit, House-Rent, Taylors, Brokers, Fair of *St. Germain*. Their Bridges, Buildings, Political Calculations of the Number of Houses, Consumption of Food, &c. Done out of *French*. The third Edition. Price 1 s.

All sold by *E. CURLL*, at the Dial and Bible against
St. Dunstan's Church in *Fleetstreet*.

PREFACE.

THE general Alarm, which the Relation of the Witchcraft of Jane Wenham has given to the Scepticks and Free Thinkers of the Age, and the uncommon Industry used by some People to discredit it, both by raising abundance of Falsities, and endeavouring to turn into ridicule what they cannot confute, is a certain Sign that these Gentlemen find their loose Principles sensibly touch'd, and a clearer Evidence of the Being of Spirits, than they are willing to have.

For this Reason it is, that I have taken so much Notice of the two Pamphlets lately come out against it, lest the good Effects of so remarkable an Occurrence might any ways be obstructed, by the want of an Answer to those Papers, which as little as they deserve a Reply, if they had it not, would soon be cry'd up as unanswerable.

I have therefore carefully examined every thing that looks like an Argument in either of my Antagonists, and I hope what I have said in answer to their Objections will appear clear and rational to the Impartial and Judicious Reader. But as for those, who have before-hand resolved, That all Relations of this nature must be absurd and ridiculous, and when they are closely press'd with Reason and Testimony, always evade the Force of Conviction by setting up a loud Laugh; I do not expect this should have any great Effect upon them, any more than upon another sort of Unbelievers, who cannot give their Assent, unless we are able to satisfy them in all Questions they shall ask concerning the Ceremonies of Initiation, Conditions of the Contracts with the Devil, and the like, which they that pretend to resolve must be Wizards themselves.

It is a great Argument of the Reality of Witchcraft, that as much as it has been laugh'd at by the frothy Libertines, yet it has been generally maintain'd by the Grave, the Wise and the Learned in all Ages; insomuch that there is not a Civilized Nation, that ever I heard of, without its Laws against this detestable Crime. And as the most Excellent Dr. Barrow expresses it, The wiser and more refined sort of Men, highest in Parts and Improvements, both from Study and Experience (indeed the Flower of every Commonwealth, Statesmen, Lawgivers, Judges and Priests) upon so many Occasions of great Importance, after most deliberate scanning such Pretences and Reports, should so often suffer themselves to be deluded, to the extreme injury of particular Persons concerned, to the common

The P R E F A C E.

mon abusing of Mankind, to the hazard of their own Reputation in point of Wisdom and Honesty, seems, in no wise, reasonable to conceive. In likelihood rather the whole Kind of all these things, were it altogether vain and groundless, would upon so frequent and so mature Discussions have appeared to be so, and would consequently long since have been disown'd, exploded and thrust out of the World. For, as upon this occasion 'tis said in Tully, *Opinionum commenta dies delet, Natura judicia confirmat. De Nat. Deor.* Time wipeth out groundless Conceits, but confirms that which is founded in Nature and real. Vol. 2. p. 133.

The Opinion of so great a Man sufficiently evinces, that the Subject of the following Sheets is at least not so Ridiculous as it is made to be.

But because both my Answerers pretend to understand Physic, and one of 'em says, That 'tis want of Knowledge in the Art of Physic that makes Men attribute meer natural Distempers to Spirits *. And the Author of the Full Confutation (as he calls it) concludes his Book with a Piece of grave Advice to the Clergy to study Physic more: If (says he) the Clergy would be a little more conversant with the History of Diseases, and enquire more narrowly into the Physical Causes of things, several Effects would not appear so perplexing, neither would they be so forward to ascribe those Diseases to the Devil, where Nature is primarily concerned. I think I cannot better conclude this Preface than in the Words of a very Learned Physician in the Case; 'tis the Famous Sir Thomas Browne, whose Testimony will certainly be allow'd of greater Weight than whatever can be urg'd by our Hertfordshire Pretender.

It is a Riddle to me how the Story of Oracles hath not worm'd out of the World that doubtful Conceit of Spirits and Witches; how so many Learned Heads should so far forget their Metaphysicks, and destroy the Ladder and Scale of Creatures, as to question the Existence of Spirits. For my part, I have ever believ'd, and do now know, that there are Witches; they that doubt of these, do not only deny them, but Spirits, and are obliquely and upon consequence, a sort not of Infidels, but Atheists. Those that to confute their Incredulity desire to see Apparitions, shall doubtless never behold any, nor have the Power to be so much as Witches: The Devil hath them already in a Heresy as capital as Witchcraft, and to appear to them were but to convert them. *Religio Medici, sect. 30.*

* Impossibility of Witchcraft, p. 24.

THE
Possibility and Reality
OF
WITCHCRAFT,
ASSERTED;

In Answer to a Pamphlet, intitl'd, *The Impossibility of Witchcraft.*

THE Author of this doughty Performance, after having very gravely acquainted his Reader, That upon the repeated Sollicitations of many Letters from his Friends and Correspondents, these Papers appear in this manner, published in one Pamphlet for the general Good; as if instead of having been out but a Fortnight or three Weeks, and that only to fill up a scandalous News-Paper *, they had stood the Test of some very considerable Time, and had been receiv'd with universal Applause, falls immediately upon two Objections, which he thinks it absolutely necessary to remove, before he proceeds any farther.

The first is, That it is a very odd thing, that our Laws should empower Judges to put People to Death for Witchcraft, if there is no such thing as a Witch in the World. Vid. Preface.

In Answer to which he tells us, That it is said, That the 33d of Henry VIII. was the first Statute against Witchcraft; and

* Protestant Post-Boy.

from a Clause in that Act, in which he finds these Words, *Or for the Despight of Christ, or Lucre of Money, to pull down any Cross*, which is there made Felony, he concludes, That *this Statute was made upon account of the Religion which then prevailed*; and calls the Repeal of it, *Ed. VI. cap. 12. and 1 Mar. cap. 1. a Legal Toleration for Witches*; and thereby would insinuate in the very Entrance of his Book, that the Belief of *Witchcraft*, and the Laws against it, were only the Effects of *Popery and Superstition*.

It will not therefore be amiss to satisfy the Reader in the first Place of the true Meaning of that Act, as also of its Repeal, and the Reason of more severe Laws being enacted against *Sorcery and Witchcraft* in the succeeding Reigns.

In *Nath. Bacon's Continuation of an Historical Discourse of the Government of England*, p. 257. speaking of new Felonies made in the time of *Henry VIII.* he says, *That among these, Conjurat[i]on or Witchcraft comes first; an old Felony in the Saxons time, but since had gotten its Clergy for the space of five hundred Years, and they it.* So that it seems this Statute was made to clip the Power of the Clergy, and take this Crime from under their Cognizance, and bring it before the Civil Power. The Clergy had for some Hundreds of Years condemned *Witches* as *Hereticks and Apostates*, and now the *Laity* were resolved to take the Power of trying *Witches* into their own Hands; so that this plainly shews this Law to be so far from the Effect of *Priestcraft and Superstition*, that one Design of it was to lessen the Power of the Church, by taking from it the Right of proceeding against such Persons by Ecclesiastical Censures, which then extended to Life, in some Cases, as this in Particular, which was punished by Death as obstinate Heresy. But lest it should give any Encouragement to Practices of this Nature, they were made Felony, without Benefit of the Clergy; and so were still punishable as before with Death, only Sentence was pronounced in another Court of Judicature. Before this Power came to the Clergy, it had been Felony, which shews the Sense the *Saxons* had of it, and this Act makes it so again. These Words, *Or for Despight of Christ, &c.* are by no Means fairly represented by our Author, as the Reader may easily see by the Context, which runs thus, *Be it enacted, &c. That if any Person or Persons, after the first Day of May next coming, use, devise, practise, or exercise, or cause to be used, devised, practised or exercised, any Invocations or Conjurat[i]ons of Spirits, Witchcrafts, Enchantments or Sorceries, to the Intent to get or find Money or Treasure, or to waste, consume, or destroy any Person in his Body, Member, or Goods,*

to provoke any Person to unlawful Love, or by Occasion or Colour of such things, or any of them, or for Despight of Christ, or Lucre of Money, dig up or pull down any Cross, or by such invocations, &c. Our Author in his Quotation out of this Statute seems purposely to have omitted the Words *dig up*, which are not for his purpose indeed, but help to give a Light into the true Meaning of the Clause he has inserted in his *Preface*, which indeed is this: The Witches of those times used to dig up Crosses, or pull 'em down, to make use of them in their Enchantments; which is therefore forbidden in this Statute, for the same Reason that *taking up dead Mens Bones for Magical Uses*, is made Felony by 1 Jac. c. 12. as may appear more plainly by the Preamble to this Statute, of which I am now treating; but for the sake of Brevity, I refer the Reader to the Act it self. 'Tis probable that they made use of these Crosses in some Ceremonies of Witchcraft, in which they might possibly burn or trample them under Foot, or some other ways do despight to the *Cross of Christ*.

This Act was afterwards repealed in an Act pass'd 1 Edw. VI. in which all Acts of *Henry VIII.* making new Felonies or Treasons, were annulled: 'Tis probable this was done at the Beginning of a new Reign, to quiet the People, who had Reason to be disgusted at the Severity of some new Laws made, relating to Capital Crimes. This Repeal was also confirm'd 1 Mar. in the Preamble to which the abovesaid Reason is to be found. And it is owing only to the Confusion and Hurry of those times, that no new Law was made against Witches before Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign; when there was great Occasion indeed for such a one, the Queen her self being aimed at by the Wickedness of Sorcerers.

In Order to shew the true Reason of making a new Law against Witchcraft in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, I shall beg Leave to transcribe a Passage or two out of Mr. *Strype's Introduction to the History of the Reformation under Queen Elizabeth.* Page 6. he says, that 'There were some already of the *Popish* Faction contriving Mischief against the Queen,— by dealing with some Conjurers, to cast their Figures to calculate the Queen's Life, and the Duration of her Government, and the like. And after having related the Proceedings against several of these Conjurers, he goes on thus, p. 7.

'Tis strange to consider how these Sorceries prevail'd about this Time, and so on for some of the first Years of the Queen's Reign, and the Mischiefs they did, and the Fears many good and sober Men had of their bewitching the Queen her self. This is evident from a Passage in a Ser-

mon of Bishop Jewel's before the Queen; wherein he thus addresseth himself to her: By the way to touch but a Word or two of this Matter, for that the horrible using of Your poor Subjects enforceth thereunto. It may please Your Grace to understand, that this kind of People, I mean Witches and Sorcerers, within this few last Years, are marvelously increased within Your Grace's Realm. These Eyes have seen most evident and manifest Marks of their Wickedness. Your Grace's Subjects pine away even unto the Death, their Colour fadeth, their Flesh rotteth, their Speech is benumbed, their Senses are bereft. Wherefore Your poor Subjects most humble Petitioner unto your Highness is, that the Laws touching such Malefactors may be put in due Execution. For the Shoal of them is great, their Doings horrible, their Malice intolerable, the Examples most miserable; and I pray God they may never practise further than upon the Subject. This I make no doubt was the Occasion of bringing in a Bill next Parliament, for making Enchantments and Witchcraft, Felony. Thus far Mr. Styrpe.

Having met with so clear an Account of the Occasion of the Act that pass'd *Eliz.* against Witchcraft, I could not but insert it; especially since from the Quotation out of Bishop Jewel's Sermon (besides the great Weight of his Testimony to the Being and Power of Witches) there are two things of great use to be collected. 1st. The Vanity of those who pretend, that the Notion of Witchcraft owes its Improvement to Popish Impostures, He being the great Champion of the Reformed; and, 2^{dly}. We from thence plainly see, what sort of Witches those were, against whom the Law was made; not Fortune-tellers only, but such as afflicted and tormented the Bodies of their Fellow-Subjects, sometimes even unto Death. So that now I think nothing can be clearer than the Account of the Occasion of this Law; which I have the rather thought it worth my while to enquire after, because our notable Author recommends such an Enquiry; thereby tacitly implying what even he was ashamed positively to affirm, that it would make for his purpose.

In King James's Reign, this Act was repealed by another to the same Effect, which is still in Force. There was also the same Reason for such a Law in his Time, who had himself been acquainted with several Instances of this Nature: One I shall insert, which happened in Scotland several Years before his coming to the English Crown. It is taken out of Archbishop Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 383.

‘ *Ann. 1591.* ‘ Most of this Winter was spent in the Discovery and Examination of Witches and Sorcerers. Amongst these, *Agnes Simpson* (commonly called *the wise Wife of Keith*) was most remarkable; a Woman not of the base and ignorant sort of Witches, but Matron-like, grave, and settled in her Answers, which were all to some purpose. In her Examination she declared, That she had a familiar Spirit, who upon her Call did appear in a visible Form, and resolve her of any doubtful Matter, especially concerning the Life or Death of Persons lying sick. And being ask’d, What Words she us’d when she called the Spirit? She said her Words were *Holla Master*, and that he had learned her so to do. She further confess’d, That Earl *Bothwell* had moved her to enquire what should become of the King, how long he should reign, and what should happen after his Death; and that the Spirit having undertaken to make away the King, after he had failed in performing, and was challenged by her, confess’d it was not in his Power, speaking Words she understood not; but as she did take them, the Words were, *Il est homme de dieu*. *Richard Graham*, another notorious Sorcerer, being apprehended at the same time, made the like Confession of *Bothwell*, which was the Cause of his Commitment in *April* following.

It seems Witchcraft was already punishable with Death in *Scotland*, as appears by the Proclamation against *Bothwell*, after his Escape out of Prison, in which he is charged with his having consulted with Witches and Necromancers for bereaving his Majesty of his Life, as was manifest by the Confession of some that had already suffered, and others yet alive who were shortly to be executed, *ibid.* p. 384.

So that King *James* had Reason enough to pass a severe Law against Necromancers, as he did in the first Year of his Reign in *England*.

Before I leave this *Scotch* Story, I cannot but take Notice what a convincing Proof here is, that evil Spirits are able to do nothing without the *Divine Permission*, which our Author so profanely laughs at. Here you see *Agnes Simpson*’s Familiar confessing, that although he had promis’d to make away the King, yet he had not Power to perform it, he being *Il homme de dieu*, a Man of God, one more immediately under the Divine Protection; but more of this in its proper Place.

Our Author says, though without any manner of Reason, That Witches were adjudg’d *Hereticks*, and suffer’d as such, to establish the Dominion of the Pope, and the Profit of the *Inquisition*, who had a Share in the Goods and Estates of Persons so

con-

condemned. How far the *Inquisitors* might, for the *Lucre* of Money, abuse their Power, is besides the present Purpose to examine. I am ready enough to believe, they were none of the fairest and most impartial Judges; but this I say, that *Witches* were justly deem'd as *Hereticks* and *Apostates*, not upon Account of the Gain that might thereby accrue to the *Inquisitors*, but for a very good Reason, which our Author himself tells us, *viz. Because Witches had renounced their Baptismal Vow, and ador'd Satan.* A solid and substantial Reason, I say, is here given, drawn from the very Nature of the Crime adjudg'd to be *Heresy*. How then could our Author, with any Appearance of Candor or Ingenuity, affirm in the very next Line, *And this they did, viz. suppos'd Witches as Hereticks, to establish the usurp'd Dominion of the Pope, &c.*

If entering into a solemn League and Covenant with the Devil, if renouncing our Baptismal Vow, (which is attested by innumerable Confessions of *Witches* to be part of that Covenant) if this be not the worst sort of *Apostacy*, I know not what can be called so; and if it be, then certainly it may be condemn'd as such, without the Imputation of *Popery* or *Superstition*. And in this the *Romish Inquisitors* have done no more, than what must be justified by the common Consent of all good *Christians*, that believe there is any such thing as entering into these *Diabolical Confederacies*.

The 2d Objection to the Impossibility of *Witchcraft*, taken Notice of in this *Preface*, is this: Others affirm, *That the Records of Justice are full of Instances in all Ages of the Truth of Witchcraft, which in their Opinion amounts to a Demonstration:* And how does he, to quiet the Minds of these, shew them how far off their Surmises are from any thing that bears the Face of Reality, which he very boldly promises to do? Why, he says, *Nothing of this amounts to a Demonstration, because, as Mr. Glanvil says, we are ignorant of the Extents and Bounds of Nature's Sphere and Possibilities, and Judges may have suffer'd themselves to be imposed upon by false Witnesses, may have condemn'd innocent Persons, for Facts impossible to be done, or upon the Testimony of pretended Witch-finders; and lastly, Judges themselves are not infallible; and can all this amount to a Demonstration?* This is the Sum of his Argument, which yet I must tell him proves nothing at all, unless he can make it appear, that all Judges, who have condemn'd *Witches*, have been so imposed upon; all Witnesses against em, forsworn; all the strange Actions imputed to em, impossible to be perform'd with the Assistance of an evil Spirit; and all the Judges in these Cases to have been as ignorant, as those who excom-

municated

nunicated the Bishop of Mentz for believing there were *Antipodes*? And yet this, as necessary as it is, to make his Argument avail any thing in the Judgment of Men of Sense and Reason, he does not so much as presume to affirm. If any *one* of the many thousand Stories of Witchcraft, if any *one* of the Confessions of the Parties accused be true, then *that is a Demonstration*, and all the rest may be so, notwithstanding any thing here said against it. Altho' for my Part I am very ready to allow, that there have been many Impostures of this Kind, but this can never prove, that there is no such thing as Truth in other well attested Relations, since it is rational to believe, That all Errors take their Original from some Truths, which they endeavour to mimick.

Since our Author had promis'd in his Title-page, *to confute and expose the Depositions against Jane Wenham*, it was but reasonable to expect some Performance of this Promise to the World; but instead of that, he shuffles us off with the following Excuse. *I should here (says he) according to the Desire of some Persons, enter into the Merits of the several Depositions that are inserted at large in the full and impartial Account, which are Sixteen in Number; but out of Respect to the Sacred Habits which Two of THEM wear, and the Incapacities of the other Fourteen, dismiss 'em to their respective Apartments, with no further Remarks, than that the Inconsistencies which they are guilty of, shew they stand very much in Need of Rest, &c.* These are his very Words, which how to make Sense of, I must own my self at a Loss. What does he mean by Two of the *Depositions* wearing *Sacred Habits*, and the Incapacities of the other Fourteen? Or how can he evade the Charge of writing downright *Non-sense*, where Nothing but strong *Confutation* was expected? However, I will take no farther Advantage of this horrid Blunder, and will suppose he meant the *Witnesses*, Two of which he vouchsafes to spare, upon Account of their Cloth, and the others he slights for their Incapacities. But being my self One of the Fourteen whose *Incapacities* he so much contemns, and whose *Inconsistencies*, he is pleas'd to say, *shew they very much stand in Need of Rest*, I think my self oblig'd to challenge him before all the World, to be as good as his Word, to *confute and expose* these *Depositions*, as he has engag'd to do, and shew the *Inconsistencies* of them, or else publickly to beg Pardon for the *Banter* he has put upon the World, by pretending in his very Title-page to do what he has not so much as attempted to perform in his Book; and what since he has *not done*, he must not take it ill, if I tell him plainly he *cannot do*. And so much for this idle Preface. Let us see whether he will acquit himself any better in his Book.

'Tis

'Tis now grown very fashionable among those who either advance new Opinions, against the general Sense of the Pious and Learned Part of the World, or endeavour to destroy the old ones embrac'd by them, to begin with finding Fault with the Translation of the Bible now in Use; and they think, that by crying out against this Translation, they may easily get over any Scripture that lies in their Way, to which they are not a little encourag'd, both by the Easiness of thus evading Objections they could not otherwise answer, and a certain Vanity of Temper, by which they please themselves with fancying that by this Means they shall seem more Learned than their Fathers that went before them. And thus it seems it is with our Author, instead of stating the Case fairly to his Reader, or endeavouring to prove the *Impossibility of Witchcraft*; After shewing his *Manners* by scoffing at Sir Henry Chauncy for committing *Jane Wenham* to Goal for Witchcraft, producing a Scrap of *Latin* out of *Cicero* to shew his Learning, p. 1. and wondering with himself at the *Superstition* and *Credulity* of the World concerning the Actions of *Witches*, he denies, that there are any *Examples of their prodigious Power other than in Heathen Fables*, or that it has any *Foundation in Holy Scripture*, and comes slap dash upon our Translators in these Words, p. 2. 'Tis true, our Translators of the Bible, in the 18th Chapter of Deuteronomy, call a CONJECTURER an ENCHANTER, which why they should, I cannot at all imagine, there being not the least Hint of such a Signification in the Hebrew Word *MAN-KESH*, which is far better render'd in the Old Translation, *A REGARDEE OF THE FLIGHT OF FOWLS*, for that is the Truth (Now for a wonderful Discovery!) tho' it be not ALL the Truth, The Flight of Fowls being but one Way of many which the Conjecturers made use of.

In answer to which, first craving Leave (with Submission to this Author's profound Skill in *Hebrew*) to read the Word *מְנַחֵשׁ*, [*Menacehsh*] upon the Authority of the Learned Dr. Henry More, from the same great Man, in his Postscript to a Letter prefix'd to the 2d Edition of Mr. Glanvil's *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, p. 24. I say first, That it will be readily allow'd me, that a Charmer and an Enchanter is all one; so that if it signifies a Charmer, the Business is done. Now Dr. More says, That this Word *Menacehsh* may very well signify Charmers, but such properly, as kill Serpents by their Charming, from [*Nachash*] which signifies a Serpent, from whence comes [*Nichehsh*] to kill Serpents, or make away with them. Dr. More gives this Reason for his Opinion, That a Verb in *Pihel*, sometimes (especially when it is form'd from a Noun) has a contrary Signification;

nification ; of which he produces several Instances, for which I refer the Learned Reader (and my *Author* if he can read 'em) to the Book it self ; and concludes his Argument in these Words. “ And therefore there seems to have been a great Deal of Skill and Depth of Judgment, in our *English* Translators that render [*Menaceph*] an *Enchanter*, especially when that of *Augur* or *South-sayer*, which the *Septuagint* call *Ὀρωσιζόμενον*, might seem less suitable with this black List, there being so many harmless Kinds of it ; for there is no such Abomination in adventuring to tell, when the wild Geese fly high in great Companies, and cackle much, that hard Weather is at hand. But to rid *Serpents* by a Charm, is above the *Power of Nature* ; and therefore an Indication of one that has the Assistance of some invisible Spirits to assist him in this Exploit, as it happens in several others ; and therefore this is another Name of one that is really a *Witch*. *Vide More's Postscript*, p. 24.

I have here produced both Reason and great Authority for the present Translation of this Text, which I have done merely out of Respect to the rest of my Readers, it being more than my notable *Antagonist* deserves, who gives only his bare *Say-so*, for what he alledges, and therefore might well enough be answer'd the same Way ; but tho' I have no great Reverence for him, I think it mine and every Writer's Duty to have a great Regard and Respect for the impartial Reader ; and therefore I shall proceed to examine his next positive Affirmation against our Translators, it is this, p. 3.

“ A second Mistake of our Translators in the same Chapters, is their calling a *Miracle-monger* a *WITCH*: The Hebrew Word is *MICKSHAPH*, which the *Septuagint* renders by the Greek Word *ψάσμα*, meaning an *IMPOSTOR*, not a *Poisoner*. For it is ridiculous to think, That *Pharaoh's Magicians*, *Jezebel the Queen*, and *King Manasses*, did exercise the Art of *Poisoning*. Thus in the 18th Chapter of the Revelations, and the 23d Verse, the Word *ψαυανείας* is neither taken for *WITCHCRAFT* or *Poisons*, but for *Impostures*, tho' our Translations have rendred it *WITCHCRAFT*.

After again taking Leave to read this Hebrew Word differently from my *Author*, but agreeably to *Dr. More*, and all others I ever met with but himself, [*Mecasseph*] I observe, that he is angry at our Translators, for rendering the Greek Word *ψάσμα* a *Witch*, which he in one Line calls a *Miracle-monger*, and after 2 or 3 more he would have it not a *Poisoner*, as the Latin Word *Veneficus* implies, but an *Impostor*. Now if this profound Critick has not two different Meanings, and be any

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ways consistent with himself, he allows this *Impostor* to be also a *Miracle-monger*, that is, one who carries on his Imposture, by doing Wonders, a *Miracle-working*, or to keep to his own polite Expression, a *Miracle-monging Impostor*: Now the Working of *Miracles* in the lowest Acceptation of the Words, implies doing something *beyond the usual Course of Nature*, which cannot be done without the Assistance of some *invisible Being*, Good or Evil; Good it cannot be, because such *Wonders* are expressly forbidden to be done by Holy Scriptures, so that it must be an *evil Spirit*, by whose Power these strange Things are done; and consequently he or she, who makes use of this Spirit in working Wonders, comes within the Definition of a Witch, which I have laid down, p. 29. (*Of Witchcraft farther Display'd*) Viz. *One who by open or secret League consenteth to use the Aid and Assistance of an evil Spirit in working Wonders, beyond the ordinary Power of Nature.* So that our Author is trapp'd in his own Words, and brought to a Confession before he is aware of it.

But as *Jane Wenham*, when she found some Days after her Confession, that it was like to be made use of against her, fell to Equivocations and Evasions, endeavouring to retract what she had said, if possible; so does our Witch-Advocate, and says, p. 4. *Nor let any one think, that for the Performance of these COUNTERFEIT Miracles, they stood in Need of the Devil's Assistance; for what they performed, either exceeded not the Compass of Human Art, altho' miraculous in the Eye of the Vulgar; or if it did, then it was not really perform'd, but a meer juggling Impostor.* Such Kind of Juglers were those who stood before Pharaoh in Opposition to Moles and Aaron. But alas! this Evasion will not serve his Turn; for let us suppose with him for once, for Argument's Sake, that these Juglers, as he calls 'em, who stood before Pharaoh, did not really perform the Wonders recorded of them; yet thus much he must own, that by their juggling Impostures they impos'd upon the Eyes of all the Egyptian Spectators, and also of Moses and Aaron, in so much that they made all these Wonders appear to the Senses to be really perform'd. And is it possible so to delude the Senses of innumerable Spectators by any Human Art? Is it possible, I say, upon throwing down a Rod upon the Ground, to make it appear visibly to be a Serpent, without the Assistance of a Diabolical Power? Can any Legerdemain or Slight of Hand, make the Waters seem to be Blood, and Legions of Frogs seem to come out of the Rivers upon the dry Land? And if not, this very Deceptio Visus, this holding of Peoples Eyes, and seeming to do what is not done, is a Wonder perform'd by Witchcraft; this Delusion,

* But see p. 5

sion, I say, is wrought by *Fascination* and *Assistance of the Devil*, agreeably to the Interpretation *Aben Ezra* gives of the [*Mecassephim*] *Qui mutant, & transformant res naturales ad aspectum oculi*. And that this is really meant not of your common Juglers, who seem to eat Fire before a Company of People at a *Fair*, but of such who raise Magical Spectres to deceive Men's Sight, is very evident, from *Exod. 22. 18*. *Thou shalt not suffer* [*Mecassephah*] which we render a *Witch*, to live; which would be a barbarous and cruel Law against a poor *German-Artist* for his *Legerdemain*. So that now, I hope, I have made it plain; that altho' we should suppose, (what I will by no Means grant) that the Magicians of *Egypt* did only impose upon the Sight of *Pharaoh, Moses, and Aaron*, yet it makes not in the least for our Author's Purpose; his *Miracle-mongers* are still *Witches*.

But, why may not the *Greek Word* φάρμακ⊙ be here render'd any otherwise than an *Imposture*? And why must φαρμακεία also signifie nothing but *Impostures*? Why, we have our Author's Word for it, and he's a Man that stands upon his Credit, and must and will be believ'd upon *Honour*. But alas! if he has no better Vouchers in other Matters, his Word will go but a little Way. What! None of the antient Authors to speak one Word in his Behalf? Ne'er a Scrap of *Greek* or *Latin*, to shew that *Hippocrates, Plato, Dioscorides, Aristophanes, Theocritus, Galen, &c.* were a Parcel of ignorant Block-heads, and understood not their own Language, when they most commonly used φάρμακ⊙ & φαρμακός, (altho' sometimes for a *Poisoner*) for a *Sorcerer*, and φαρμακεία for *Witchcraft*, as has been copiously proved beyond *Evasion*, by more than one that have written of *Sorcery*? Not one Witness to their Learning and Skill in Interpretation? Produce your Evidence for Shame, Sir, if you can, or you'll go near to be cast by an *English Jury*. Why, Gentlemen, the Truth of the Business is, he has a little over-shot himself, as Men of Mettle and bright Parts will do now and then; *Humanum est errare*, and so no more of this at present; and since it is plain enough from what has been said, that his Interpretation, tho' allow'd, will do him no Good, e'en let him peaceably enjoy it, whether he can prove it or no. And proceed we now to the 3^d Error, which he charges upon our Translators, p. 5.

The third Error of our Translators is (says he) their mistaking a *Consulter with Oracles, or False Prophets*, for a *Consulter with familiar Spirits*: In order to prove which, he tells us, That the Word [*Obh*] signifies in Scripture, sometimes the Gift of *Oracling*, and sometimes the Person that has such a Gift. It signifies

also a Bottle, &c. *Vide locum*, p. 5. The Sum of what he would be at is, That the Sort of Diviners meant by the *Hebrew* Words, [*Shoel-Obb*] were some that made use of a Bottle, or hollow Trunk, to deliver their Oracles through, that their Voices might seem to be more than Human, and very much their Tone must needs be alter'd thereby, especially if they were in a Cave, or Room under Ground, when they made Answer to Enquiries. Well, and what then? Why these were a Pack of cheating Impostures. How does he know that? Know it, why he proves it by Scripture; He says, *These Kind of cheating Tricks are plainly alluded unto by the Prophet Isaiah, in these Words, Thy Voice shall be as an Oracler out of the Earth, and thy Speech shall piep out of the Dust*, p. 6. He supposes, the Prophet here chiefly hints at the Necromantick Oracler, or one that pretended to consult the Dead: Who by himself, or his Confederate, did counterfeit a Voice like the pieping of a Chicken, that it might the more plausibly seem to be the small Voice of a poor departed Ghost, *ibid*. Hey-day! Piep like a Chicken, through a hollow Trunk, to imitate the still Voice of a Ghost! This whole Paragraph is so obscure, that I don't know where to find any thing that bares the Face of an Argument, which makes me, who am not very inclinable to trust him, apply my self to the Text it self, for his Meaning, and that of the Words.

There are two Places in the Prophet *Isaiah*, which, I suppose, my Author has here in his Eye. The First is, chap. 8. v. 19. *And when they shall say unto you, seek unto them that have famillar Spirits, and unto Wizards that piep, and mutter, &c.* Which the *Septuagint* renders thus, Ζητήσατε τὰς ἐγχεσίμους, καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς φωνῶντας, τὰς κεκολοχῶντας, οἱ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας φωνήσουσιν. The Other is, that which, I suppose, my Author quotes out of the old Translation, as being more to his Purpose, but stands thus in the New, chap. 29. v. 4. *Thou shalt speak out of the Ground, and thy Speech shall be low out of the Dust, and thy Voice shall be as of one that hath a familiar Spirit out of the Ground, and thy Speech shall whisper out of the Dust.* Thus render'd in the *Septuagint*, καὶ ταπεινωθήσονται εἰς τὴν γῆν οἱ λόγοι σου, καὶ εἰς τὴν γῆν οἱ λόγοι σου δύσονται, καὶ ἔσαι ὡς οἱ φωνῶντες ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἢ φωνή σου, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔδαφος ἡ φωνή σου ἀσθενήσει. Which two Places greatly illustrate each other, and confirm the present Translation. The Word [*Obb*] says Dr. More in his Postscript above quoted, p. 28. signifies as much as *PYTHO*; as *PYTHO* also, though it took its Name at first from *PYTHII VATES*, signifies no more than *Spiritum Divinationis* in general, a Spirit that tells hidden Things, or Things to come. And [*Obb*] and *Pytho* also agree in this, that they both signify either the Divinato-

ry Spirit it self; or the Party that hath that Spirit. But here in [Shoel Obh] it being render'd by the Septuagint, *Ἐγγασείμυθος*, [Obh] is necessarily understood of the Spirit it self, as Pytho is, Acts 16. 16. if you read *πνεῦμα πύθωνα* with Isaac Causabon, but if *πύθωνος*, it may be understood either way. So far Dr. More, now the better to let my Reader understand how these *Ἐγγασείμυθοι*, or Belly Prophets, received and deliver'd their Oracles; and the Meaning of having a familiar Spirit out of the Ground, I will put him in Mind of a remarkable Circumstance, concerning the Occasion of the general Retort of the *Heathen* * World to the Oracle of Delphos, which will help very much to clear this Matter. Before the Oracle was fix'd at Delphos, the Place was a Common, on which Goats used to graze, in which was a Den with a little Mouth at Top; and it was observ'd, that when any of the Goats look'd into this Hole, they fell a skipping and making an odd Noise, (which afterwards occasion'd Goats to be reckon'd *Brutes of Divination*, to which Tertullian alludes, cap. 23. of his *Apologetick*, when he says, *per quos* (speaking of Demons) & *Capra divinare consueverunt*) Core-tas the Goat-head having taken Notice of this odd Phenomenon, went himself to the Place, and looking in, fell immediately a Prophefying, as did many others who went to visit it; and some (says Tully) were strangled, *Terra Anhelitu*, with the strong Streams that came out of the Earth, *Vide Diodor. Lib. 16.* Upon this it was soon spread abroad, that there was a Spirit of Divination in the Place; upon which therefore they placed a *Tripes*, or Three-footed Stool, with a consecrated Priestess upon it, who receiv'd her Inspiration from below, *ἐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κάτω τοῦ τεύχεος*, and hence these Sort of Oracles were called *Ἐγγασείμυθοι*, as having a Spirit which ascended out of the Ground, into their Bellies; and it is probable, that the Reason of the Name [Obh] which does indeed, as my Author says, sometimes signify a Bottle, might be taken from that Spirit which was in the Body of the Party, and swell'd it to a Protuberancy, like the Side of a Bottle; and those Words, *Thy speech shall be low out of the dust*, allude to the Whisper of their Divining Spirit. Thus, I think, I have given a rational Account of the Meaning of the Text, fully justify'd the Translators, and clear'd the Expression of Wizards *pieping and muttering*, from the ridiculous Comment of this most judicious Critick.

* See Mr. Reeves's Notes on Tertullian's *Apologetick*, cap. 23.

I come now to take a View of the first Particular our Author pretends to prove, p. 6. Viz. *That this strange Notion of Witchcraft has its Foundation in Heathen Fables.* He tells us, *That not only Men but Women have been famous for Prophefying, whence they were called Sagæ; as also for wonderful and miraculous Exploits, whence they took the Name of Lamia or Veneficæ, they were call'd Lamia from their Adventures among little Children.*— And towards the Bottom of Page 7. he says, *They were stiled VENEFIGÆ, because they were won't to make use of Herbs, which they supposed had strange Kind of Virtues in 'em, for with Herbs or Charms they always acted.* Well, and what is all this but an Argument of the Antiquity of the Notion of Witchcraft? And what does it prove, but that there were such People formerly as well as now, because the Heathens had Witches among them, as no doubt but they had, more than we have among us Christians. What then? Is the Notion it self therefore fabulous and chymical, because the Heathens had it? Or is it not rather a strong Proof of the Reality of the Being of Witches, that the Ancients not only believ'd there were such Persons, but also attributed the same Sort of Practices to them, as the Witches of our Times have confess'd themselves to be guilty of, even to a nice and exact Agreement in many of the most minute Circumstances, which our silly old Women can never be suppos'd to have learned from the *Greek and Latin Poets, Historians, or Philosophers, whom they have hardly ever heard of?* And therefore I say, this Agreement between them is an Argument of the Reality of such Performances; let me mention but one Instance of this among a Thousand, which our Author himself puts me in mind of, by quoting the following Passage, p. 19. out of *Ovid's Epistles.* It is, as he says, in *Hypsipyle's Description of Medea*, among other Descriptions of the extraordinary Power of this notorious Enchantress; this is one.

*Devover absentes, simulachraq; Cerea figit,
Et miserum tennes in Jecur urget Acus.*

Thus render'd in English.

*In molten Wax, tho' absent, kills by Art, most
Arm'd with her Needle, goars a tortur'd Heart.*

Now let us compare this with Part of the Confession of *Eliz. Styles*, confirm'd afterwards, by the Confession of *Alice Duke*, another of the same Gang, who were both of 'em separately

rately examin'd in 1664, before *Robert Hunt Esq;* a Justice of the Peace for *Somersetshire*, concerning this Way of Bewitching, by sticking Needles into Images of Wax, in order to torment those who were represented by those Images. *Eliz. Styles*, after giving an Account of several Meetings of her self and others with the Devil, gives also an Account of several Images of Wax brought at several times to these Meetings, which the Devil, who used to be present in the Shape of a Black Man, would first take in his Arms, and give it a Name, thereby mocking the Christian Baptism; and speaking of one brought to represent *Elizabeth Hill*, she says, they call'd it *Elizabeth* or *Bess*. Then the Man in Black, this Examinant, *Anne Bishop*, and *Alice Duke* stuck Thorns into several Places of the Neck, Hands, Wrists, Fingers, and other Parts of the said Picture. See the 2d Part of *Glanvil's Sadducismus Triumphatus*, p. 138. This *Elizabeth Hill* was an afflicted Child, suppos'd to be bewitch'd by this Woman, who confesses it, and that she us'd the foregoing Means to torment the Child, which is exactly the same that the Poet says was us'd by the famous Sorceress *Medea*. Now if this Notion of Witchcraft were merely imaginary, and had not some real Foundation in Truth, how come these two poor old Women to agree so exactly with the Poet's Description? unless you'll say they stole it from *Ovid*, to make part of a Confession which cost 'em their Lives. 'Tis likely they thought they had made a new Discovery, which they had never learned themselves, but at these Diabolical Meetings. So that from hence I infer, that the Mention of Witches, and Witchcraft in Heathen Writers, proves no more than that there were Witches among them, and is so far from proving the Notion of Witchcraft fabulous, that the Agreement of some of those ancient Rites and Ceremonies of Sorcery, with those that by the Confession of our modern Witches, are now in Use, does rather prove, that this can be no imaginary Crime, for in nothing is there greater Variety than in the fanciful Notions of melancholly Persons, whereas Witchcraft has been in many Circumstances the same in all Ages.

Our Author says, p. 8. *As for the Incubi and Succubi Devils, it's manifest they had their Rise from the Fables of ancient Heroes, who were begotten from Conjunction of the Deities with Human Creatures.* And this he makes a Cloak for the Adulteries of the Heathen Priests, who frequently lay with other Mens Wives, under Pretence that the Gods had vouchsaf'd them the Honour of their Company. A very cunning Contrivance this, and likely enough to be true; but although it be allowed, can
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make nothing against Witchcraft, as will plainly appear when we consider what these *Gods* of the Heathens were. They were not a whit better than *Devils*, as is abundantly proved in many of the Writings of the ancient Fathers, and their Priests were *Witches* and *Sorcerers*; so that instead of the Notion of Witchcraft owing its Rise to Heathen Fables, it is very likely that those very Fables owe their Rise to Witchcraft; I say, these *Diabolical Practices* gave Rise to the Notion of Heroes being begotten by Gods upon Women. Some of these false Gods did now and then defile some of their wretched Votaries, or at least so strongly deceived their Imaginations, that they seemed really to perform the Office of lusty Men or loose Women. This *Justin Martyr* reproaches them with in his famous Apology for the Christians, which I must beg Leave to quote out of Mr. Reeves's excellent Translation of that Apology, not having the Original by me: Page 21. speaking of the Gods of the Heathens, he says, *Verily I must tell you, that heretofore these impure Spirits, under various Apparitions, went into the Daughters of Men, and defiled Boys, and dress'd up such Scenes of Horror, that such as enter'd not into the Reasons of Things, but judg'd by Appearance only, stood aghast at the Spectres, and being shrunk up with Fear and Amazement, and never imagining them to be Devils, called them Gods, and invoc'd 'em by such Titles, as every Devil was pleased to Nick-name himself by.*— And afterwards he says, *We aver these Demons to be not only not good, but evil and abominable Spirits.*— And for this worshipful Reason it is, that we are branded with the Name of *Atheists*. Here you see a great Authority for the Reality of that Circumstance of Witchcraft, which relates to carnal Copulation with evil Spirits under Human Shapes, and we find that those evil Spirits called themselves *Gods*, and made themselves be believ'd and esteem'd as such by those they had to do with: So that from hence it plainly appears, this Notion was so far from owing its Rise to Fables, that it gave Birth to those very Stories, and was the only Foundation they had in Truth, as all Fables have some more or less.

As for my Author's second Particular, which he takes upon him to affirm, That this Notion of Witchcraft has been improv'd by Papal Inquisitors, and his *History of the Inquisition* for four Pages together, I shall only say, That as I have already shew'd, neither our Laws against Witchcraft, nor the Notion we have of it, are owing to Popery; so that although it may be true, that the Inquisition have abused it to serve a Turn, yet that is nothing at all to us, nor any more an Argument against the Reality or Possibility of Witchcraft, than the Papistical Abuses

Abuses of many of the Doctrines of the Christian Religion, are a Proof of the Falsity of those Doctrines, since the best Things have been and may be abused. Passing by therefore his *Enquiry into the Inquisitors*, in which there is not any thing to the Purpose, or worth Remark; let us see how he makes good his third Position, Namely, *That a Witch is not to be found in Scripture*. In order to which he produces three noble Arguments, worthy only to be made use of by such a Champion of such a Cause.

The first *Argument* (says he) p. 12. *shall be taken from the Difference between our vulgarly reputed Witches, and those which our Translators of the Bible call so. For whom, I pray, do our Translators call Witches, but the Kings, and Queens, and Princes of the Earth, as also the Priests, Philosophers, and Wise Men of this World? Whereas the Witches now a-days are poor, silly, contemptible People.* Close arguing this! Because our Witches are not so rich and great as some formerly were, *Ergo*, they are not at all. But pray, Sir, who told you that the Witch of Endor was a Queen or a Princess? Or that all those that had Familiar Spirits and Wizards, whom *Saul* drove out of the Land, were at least great Lords and Ladies. Methinks it was a little below her Highness the Princess of Endor, to take flower and knead it her self, as we find she did, 1 Sam. 28. 24. Surely the Persons of Quality, especially the Ladies, were very humble and condescending in those Days. For a Princess, not only to bring Meat and Drink before *Saul*, but before his *Servants* too, as the Text says she did! 'Tis as much as a Country Farmer's Wife will do now a-days; and who would have thought, that the Devil should teach Housewifery and Humility to the Ladies. But the World grows wiser every Day; witness this notable Discovery of our penetrating and judicious Author.

But what if we grant, that there were indeed some Princesses among the Witches, such as *Jezabel*, and a King or Two that debased himself so low as to consult with the Devil; I know, there have been some Instances of this Nature. We have also heard of a Pope that was a Wizard; and there are too many Great Men now a-days that privately encourage Witchcraft. But what then? Because there are some very great Robbers, are there no little ones? Or because our Laws give Noblemen the Privilege of being try'd by their Peers for Witchcraft, therefore do they suppose there are no poor Witches? Either of these Conclusions is as good as my Author's Argument, which he thinks strong enough to prove a Negative. Well! But if this Weapon will not knock us down, here is another that will do the Business most effectually.

Page 13. *The second Argument shall be taken from the Sadducees, a famous Sect among the Jews, who deny'd Spirits, and the Resurrection of the Dead, yet had the Five Books of Moses in high Esteem and Regard; wherefore, either they did not understand Hebrew, or if they did, the Notion of Witchcraft did not appear in Moses, if this be once granted, &c. Hold! not so fast, you may save your self the Labour of setting up a Man of Straw; to tell you in the next Lines, the Sadducees did not understand Hebrew, that you might have the Honour to confute him; and be pleas'd to consider, that the Sadducees, in denying the Being of Spirits, deny'd also that of Angels; for what is an Angel but a Spirit? So that your Argument is as strong against the Being of Angels, as Witches. Now the Appearance of Angels is often mention'd in the Five Books of Moses; as for Instance, An Angel appears to Hagar, Gen. 16. Three in the Shape of Men to Abraham, Gen. 18. Two in the like Shape to Lot, Gen. 19. Another calls to Hagar, Gen. 21. 17. And so does one to Abraham, Gen. 22. An Angel appeared to Moses in the Bush, Exod. 3. An Angel went before the Camp of Israel, Exod. 14. An Angel met Balaam, Numb. 22. So that if this Argument be of any Weight, it also proves, that all those Words rendred by Angel, are falsly translated, as well as those which mention Consulters with familiar Spirits. And if it proves any thing, it proves too much, but in truth it proves nothing. The Sadducees were like our modern Sectaries, who pretend a much greater Reverence for the Scriptures than they have; and even the very Quakers come behind none of the rest in their pretended Reverence for the Scriptures. And yet it would be Madness thence to infer, that there is no such thing enjoyned in the New Testament, as the Administration of the two Sacraments, because they who deny the Use and Necessity of the Sacraments, pretend to a high Esteem and Regard for the Bible. And yet I appeal to any sensible Reader, whether such an Argument is not every-whit as strong, as this my Author brings, to prove, there is no such thing as a Witch in Scripture.*

His third and last Argument, p. 13. is taken from the different Practices ascrib'd unto our vulgarly suppos'd Witches, and to those in our own Translation of the Bible. For our modern Witches practise a secret occult Art, and it requires great Skill to discover them, by several strange Signs and Tortures: But those whom our Translators call Witches in the Bible, were such as practis'd what they did openly, and in the Face of the World, making Profession of their Art, which was the counterfeit Art of Propheying, and working Miracles. This, I confess, is a little strange, that
People

People should be so bare-fac'd, as publicly to own, and openly practise a Crime, punishable with Death *by the Laws*. But how does he prove it? Why we must e'en take his Word for it, he does not offer to bring the least Shadow of an Argument, unless any one should think that conjectures of a pretended Impossibility of *Saul's* driving them out of the Land, unless they practis'd openly, to be an Argument; and as for that Fancy of his, this is a sufficient Instance of the contrary, that notwithstanding all his Care, he could quickly hear of one that had a familiar Spirit when he had Occasion for it. So that all his Severity could not entirely drive Witches and Sorcerers out of the Country. By which Expression is only meant, his doing all that lay in his Power, to extirpate all Sorcerers; not that there was ne'er a one left, which is false in Fact, for there was one at *Endor*. See to what pitiful Shifts and far Fetches is our Author reduced to support his Cause. But alas! These Arguments, I hope, I have sufficiently shewn not to be strong enough to prove, there is no such thing as a Witch to be found in Scripture.

Yet as little as can be gather'd from this Witch-Advocate's three Arguments, to prove there is no such thing as a Witch in Scripture, in his Opinion they amount to a Demonstration; and therefore he confidently makes use of that as his first Argument, to prove, *That there is no such thing as a Witch at all*, p. 14. But I shall take no Notice of what follows, in answer to those who will by no Means allow this Silence of the Scriptures to be a concluding Argument, because, I hope, I have fully made it appear, by my Vindication of the Translation of the Bible, and the short Answer I have given to his three foregoing Arguments, That notwithstanding all that he has alledg'd, the Scriptures do expressly mention Witches, and severely threaten them, so that I find my self at Liberty to examine his second Reason alledg'd, to disprove the Being of Witches. *I argue* (says he, p. 15.) *from the miserable Poverty of our vulgarly reputed Witches, that they are wrongfully accused*, and wonders, that if they have such Power with the Devil, they never command him to fetch them Money or Bread. This Argument, if he had brought to prove (as I have already said more at large, p. 34. of *Witchcraft farther display'd*) that the Polity of Hell is unknown to us, and that we cannot have any certain Knowledge of the Terms of the Covenants made between Witches and their Familiars, or the Extent of Power they are allow'd over him, then indeed it would prove his Point, but it argues nothing more. Besides, the Devil, as forward as he is in Promising, is not so ready at Performing;

he is the Father of Liars from the Beginning, and generally pays his Slaves but very bad Wages. It is farther to be urg'd, that these Sort of Contracts with the Devil, are made by those who call upon him, and invoke his Assistance, to enable them to hurt a Neighbour upon some Provocation receiv'd; and while they are thus drunk with Malice, and an insatiable Desire of Revenge, 'tis very probable, they think no farther at present, than of gratifying their Revenge, and forget to put any other more advantageous conditions into their Bargain, and the Devil scorns to be better than his Word. Add to this, That the Devil does take care to let 'em enjoy some lower and viler Degrees of Pleasure in those merry Meetings, which almost all Witches give an Account of, in which they sing and dance, and regale themselves with Wine, or good Beer, and Cakes, or sometimes daintier Victuals. Many of these Witches have been very confident, that they have been actually present in their Bodies at those Feasts; so that tho' they have not had Money, they have enjoy'd what such wretched Creatures prefer to it, the Gratification of their sensual Appetites and carnal Lusts; which is the chief End they would put their Riches to, had they never so much; so that what Need have they of Money, when they have that which they would before any thing else purchase with it? As for the Objection, that these Enjoyments are only imaginary, if it be so (which is question'd by some) yet that does not alter the Case, since so strong is the deluding Operation of the Devil upon their Imaginations, that they believe all these Pleasures to be real, and are consequently as well satisfy'd with them, as if they were so.

In the third Place, my Author charges those who maintain there are Witches with Irrationality or Impiety, p. 16. A heavy Charge this, if it were but sufficiently prov'd; but how does he make it good? Why, he proves 'em *Irrational* thus: *'Tis irrational to think, that the Devils are Creatures full of Malice, and breathing nothing but Mischief against the whole Race of Man, AND THAT THEY suffer a Man to live, when they can so easily kill us at the Command of a Witch.* Which Sentence is very dark and obscure, if the Author means any thing at all by it. Let's try if we can come at the Meaning of it: *It is irrational to think the Devils are full of Malice;* how! That's shocking indeed; and I must do my Author the Justice to own, that, I think, he does not mean, *that the Devils are not full of Malice;* but what then does he mean? I would suspect some Mistake of the Press, and read it thus, *'Tis irrational to think, that the Devils, who are full of Malice,* &c.

&c. But then here my Author must be corrected again, and no less than three Words in the next Line or two blotted out, to make him speak Grammar. However, with his good Leave, I will venture to correct his Text in both Places, and read him thus: *'Tis irrational to think, that the Devils, who are Creatures full of Malice, and breathing nothing but Mischief against the whole Race of Man, (dele and that they, & perge) suffer a Man to live, &c.* Now, I think, I have made my Author speak English, and set his Argument in its true Light. But now I must offer in Arrest of the Sentence of Irrationality just passing upon me, who profess my self to believe that there are Witches, the following Plea; which, if my Author will not accept, I hope my impartial Reader will. If it is rational to believe, that there is an *over-ruling Power*, of greater Might than all the Devils in Hell put together, and that this *over-ruling Power* does actually *protect* us from the Power of the Devil, then 'tis not irrational to think the Malice of Hell does not destroy us all, because it cannot do us any harm without the Divine Permission; but there is such a Power, *ergo* it is not irrational to conclude that the Devils do not destroy us all. On the contrary, I say, 'tis irrational to conclude, that the Divine Providence having taken us into his Protection, and being able to preserve us, should not do it against all the Spite and Malice of Hell, except now and then, when for wise Reasons God shall think fit to permit it.

But here we are met with again, and striving to avoid the Scylla of Irrationality, are dash'd by our Author upon the Charybdis of Impiety. But if you evade this (says he) by saying, the Devils cannot hurt us without the divine Permission; then, I say, 'tis impious to concern the great God with Witchcraft. 'Tis true indeed he may send Death and Diseases amongst the Sons of Men to punish them for their Sins at his own Pleasure, but that he should do so at the Desire of the Devil, at the Command of a Witch, is such a Gratification of Malice, as is far from God to permit. If in Answer to this we offer to mention the History of Job, as an Instance of God's permitting Satan to afflict that good Man, our Mouth is presently stop'd by the Authority of Calvin, who says, God does not permit, but orders and determines the Actions, not only of Devils, but wicked Men, affirming, That if Asses could speak, they would speak wiser than those Men, who talk of God's Permission after this Rate. But with Submission to Great Mr. Calvin and Little Mr. Impossibility, I say, it is impious to affirm, that God pre-determines the Actions of wicked Men or Devils; for that makes

makes God the immediate Author of all the Sin and Evil that has happen'd since the Beginning of the World ; since what is absolutely decreed to be, *must* accordingly come to pass, and so the Freedom of Man's Will is taken away, and with it the Justice of Almighty God, in rewarding or punishing either Men or Angels, for constantly adhering to his Service, or shamefully apostatizing from their Duty to their Creator. But I refer my Reader for the horrid Consequences of this Doctrine to so many of our famous Divines, that have written against this damnable Notion of God's predetermining the Actions of Men or Devils; and observe, that our Solution of these *Phænomena* of Witches, from the Doctrine of the *Divine Permission*, is not liable to the same ill Consequences, because this implies nothing but a temporary *Suspension* of the Interposition of Divine Providence, for some wise and good Ends, by which the Devil finds himself at Liberty to do the Mischief he intended; which he could not do, if Providence oppos'd. The like may be said of the Actions of wicked Men ; none of whom could ever be able to hurt a Neighbour, if Providence at the same time actually interposed to hinder them ; but nevertheless, if Providence does not so interpose, the Crime is justly chargeable upon them, for God is not oblig'd to protect us against either Men or Devils, but when he pleases : So that God thus permitting Witchcraft, that is, *not interposing* to hinder, does by no means by such a Permission concern himself as an Agent in it ; and consequently those who say the Devils cannot hurt us without the Divine Permission, are *not* guilty of the Impiety of concerning God with Witchcraft.

The last Argument my Author produces against the Being of Witches, is as follows : *Lastly*, says he, p. 17. *The Vanity and Falseness of their Opinion, who believe there are Witches, appears from nothing more than from this, That it ascribes unto the Devil an Omnipotent Power ; insomuch that no Rational Man, by the Light of Reason, shall be able to tell from the History of the Gospel, whether our Saviour himself were a Witch or no.* As to the first part of this Objection, *That the Belief of Witchcraft ascribes unto the Devil an Omnipotent Power ;* I deny that this Opinion implies any such thing, as an Omnipotent Power of the Devil. It does indeed suppose the Devil to be a Spirit of great Power and Might ; and, as the Scripture calls him in one Sense, *the God of this World, and Prince of the Power of the Air.* We allow the Devil and his Angels the Power of inflicting Diseases upon our Bodies, and raising extraordinary Com-motions in our Souls, which the Devils may do by natural Means,

Means, only heightned and improved beyond the Reach of any human Art; but yet we do not allow this Power to be infinite; no, we all along say 'tis *limited* and *confined* by the only Great and Omnipotent God, who still holds the Reins in his own Hands, and will not suffer their Power to extend farther than he sees it expedient in his great Wisdom. Besides we say also, that there are some things of so difficult Performance, that it is impossible for the Devil to effect. Thus we read, *Exod. 8. 18, 19.* That all the Art and Power of the Magicians of Egypt could not turn *Dust* into *Lice*, though it could do many other wonderful things, such as *turning the Waters into Blood*, and *bringing Frogs upon the Land*; but this it seems was past the Devil's Skill to enable those Sorcerers to perform; it exceeded their Ability, (as Dr. Barrow observes, Vol. II. of his Works, p. 282.) to prepare or dispose so much Dust for the Reception of Souls, and to furnish so many Souls for the Dust; whence they were forced to confess of that Miracle done by Moses, *This is the Finger of God.* So that here is a plain Demonstration, that the Power of the Devil, although it be suppos'd to be so great, as to do very extraordinary things, yet cannot from thence be concluded to be unlimited. This Power of the Devils over both our Bodies and Souls is expressly mention'd by Tertullian in his *Apologetick*, cap. 22. speaking of evil Spirits, he says, *Operatio eorum est hominis eversio, sic malitia spiritalis a primordio auspicata est in hominis exitium, itaq; corporibus & valetudines infligunt, & aliquos casus acerbos; anime vero repentinos, & extraordinarios per vim excessus; suppetit illis ad utramque substantiam hominis adeundam subtilitas & tenuitas sua, &c.* Thus very well render'd by Mr. Reeves: *The Ruin of Mankind is their whole Employment; these malicious Spirits were bent upon Mischief from the Beginning, and fatally auspicious in their first Attempt, in undoing Man as soon as he was made; and in like manner they practise the same destructive Methods upon all his Posterity, by inflicting Diseases upon their Bodies, and stirring up sudden Tempests and preternatural Emotions in the Soul; and they are fitted by Nature for both these kinds of Evil, the Subtlety and Fineness of their Substance giving them an easy Access to Body and Soul both.* And yet for all this Acknowledgment of the great Power of the Devil, we shall by and by find Tertullian boasting of the greater Power of the Name of Christ in casting him out of those whom he had possessed; so that he, it seems, believed the Devil to have this great Power, and yet to be far from Omnipotent. Before I leave this Point, I will transcribe one Passage more out of the next Chapter of the same

same Apology, which will shew, that he is of Opinion that the Devil exercises this his Power at the Will and Command of Magicians and Sorcerers: Porro si & magi phantasmata edunt, & jam defunctorum inclamant animas, si pueros in eloquium Oraculi elidunt, si multa Miracula circulatoriis Prestigiis ludunt, si & Somnia immittunt, habentes semel invitatorum Angelorum, & Dæmonum assistentem sibi potestatem per quos & capra & mensæ divinare consueverunt, quanto magis ea Potestas de suo arbitrio, & pro suo negotio studeat totis Viribus operari quod aliena prestat Negotiationi? Thus translated by the Learned Gentleman just quoted. Moreover if Magicians do set before their Eyes a Scene of Spectres, and by their black Arts or direful Forms in Necromancy call up the Souls of the Dead; if they throw Children into Convulsions, and a while after make 'em vent the Fury in Oracles; if by their juggling Wiles they delude the Senses with Abundance of mock Miracles, and inject Dreams in Dead of Sleep, by first invoking the Assistance of their Angels and Dæmons, by whose Sophistry even Goats and groaning Boards are wont to divine: If then these Evil Spirits will do so much at the Impulse of Men, what will they not do by their own Impulse, and for their own Interest? &c. So Minucias Fælix in his Octavia's, that other famous Apology for the Christians, pag. 49. Edit. Cantab. Magi quoq; non tantum sciunt Dæmonas, sed etiam quicquid Miraculi ludunt, per Dæmonas faciunt: illis aspirantibus & infundentibus prestigias edunt: vel quæ non sunt videri, vel quæ sunt non videri. Thus english'd by Mr. Reeves. The Magicians also are not only sensible of Dæmons, but all the strange Pranks they play are perform'd by Dæmons. 'Tis they who give that Efficacy to Enchantments. as to make Men see Things which are not, and not to see Things which are. From which Places I conclude, that I have the Authority of these two great Champions of the Christians, against the Consequence my Author draws from the Belief of Witchcraft, that then must of Necessity be ascrib'd to the Devil an Omnipotent Power; for we see these great Apologists a little after, triumphing and exulting upon Account of the Power the Primitive Christians had over Evil Spirits, which I shall make Part of my Reply to the last Clause of the Objection, Viz. That no Man can know by the Light of Reason, whether our Saviour Christ was a Witch or no.

For how can it be imagin'd, that our Saviour Christ perform'd his miraculous Works by the Assistance of the Devil, when the whole Tenour of his Proceedings was directly level'd against the Kingdom of Darkness, when he cast out Devils, both out of the Bodies and Souls of Men. This is that Disarming and Binding the strong One, which our Saviour brings

to Jerusalem and Judaea
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as a most conclusive Argument, that he was not only not assisted by the Infernal Powers, but the greatest and most formidable Enemy they had, *Luke 11. 22.* Would the Prince of Darkness contribute so much to his own Disgrace, and the Ruin of his Kingdom? No certainly, the Miracles of Christ tended only to the Glory of God, *Matt. 9. 8.* And when the Multitude saw it they marvelled, and glorified God, who had given such power unto Men; and therefore they were undoubtedly wrought by the Finger of God. For who can think, that the Devil would be an Instrument of giving Praise and Honour to Almighty God?

A farther and most convincing Proof, that our Saviour's wonderful Works were perform'd, by the mighty Power of God, is his being able to impart that Power to his Disciples, and expressly enjoyning them to make use of that Power against the Devil. *Cure the Sick, cleanse the Lepers, cast out Devils,* says he to his Apostles, *Matt. 10. 8.* And we read, that after he had given almost the like Charge to the Seventy Disciples, and given them a Power superiour to all the Power of the Enemy, *they returned with joy, saying, Lord, even the Devils are subject to thy Name,* *Luke 10. 17.* This Power continued for several Ages in the Primitive Church, who gloried in it as an uncontestable Proof of the Truth and Divinity of the Doctrine which they preached; and was so far from doing any Service to the Kingdom of Satan, that it prov'd the utter Ruin of it: By this Power they detected the Impostures of those evil Spirits, and made them, who had so long vaunted themselves to be *Gods*, confess themselves to be *Devils*. By this Power they drove 'em out of those whom they had possess'd, and from their very Altars and Temples; how then could it proceed originally from Satan? How could our Saviour Christ use the Assistance of *evil Spirits*, when his Name alone was so great a Terror to them, that they could not hear it without Torture?

I cannot here omit that bold Challenge of *Tertullian* in the same Apology, where he provokes the Heathen Governour to this Trial of the Truth of the Christian Religion, from the Subjection of evil Spirits to the Christians. *Edatur hic aliquis* (says he) *sub Tribunalibus vestris, quem Dæmone agi constet. Jussus a quodam Christiano loqui, Spiritus ille, tam se Dæmonem confidebitur de vero, quam alibi Deum de falso— nisi se Dæmones confessi fuerint Christiano mentiri non audentes ibidem illius Christiani procarissimi Sanguinem fundite. Quid isto Opere manifestius? Quid hac Probatione fidelius? Let a Dæmoniack be brought into Court, and the Spirit which possesses him be command-*

ed by any Christian to declare what he is, he shall confess himself as truly to be a Devil, as he did falsely before profess himself to be a God.—After naming some of the reputed Gods of the Heathen, he goes on—If these, I say, do not declare themselves in Court to be Devils, nor daring to lie in the Presence of a Christian, that Christian is willing to be taken for the Cheat, and stands ready to answer for it with his own Blood. What now can be more glaringly evident than this Demonstration from Fact? What Proof more unexceptionable? The like Assertions and Challenges may be produced from other Fathers.

Now I say, this Power, that the Primitive Christians had over evil Spirits by the Name of Christ, proves first, That altho' these Spirits had great Power to afflict and torment, both the Bodies and Souls of the unhappy Dæmoniacks; yet it cannot from thence be inferr'd, that their Power was infinite, for the Christians had them in Subjection. And 2dly, That our Saviour was not, in our Author's prophane Language, a Witch; and that it may reasonably be collected, that he was not so, without denying that the Devil is indeed a Spirit of great Power, altho' by no means Omnipotent.

As for the Decree of the *Ancyran* Council, if my Author had been pleas'd to have quoted it, I might have said something to it; but from what he says of its being made upon Account of the Error of the *Manichæi*, who believed two Independent Principles, the one Good, the other Evil, and Witches and *Manichæans* being put together in the Rescript of *Diocletian* and *Maximian*: I infer against him, that there were really Witches at that Time, else how came they to be joyned with the *Manichæans*? And also that the Decree was made against those, who held the Devil to be wholly independent upon God, and to have an omnipotent Power, which, I hope, I have shewn, cannot be concluded from the Belief of Witchcraft. The like may be said of the Decree of the Council of *Bracara*, which is plainly levell'd against the *Manichæans* and *Priscilianists*.

My Author having done with his Arguments, sets himself to answer all Objections; and to those who urge the Credibility of Testimony to the many strange Facts done by Witchcraft, he says, he does not deny but they prove the Being of Spirits, but not of Witches; he believes these Things may be done by Spirits, but demands a Reason why they should be done upon Account of a Contract made between any Man or Woman, and the Devil?

And then, in Answer to those who alledge for a Reason, that Persons tormented have fallen into their Fits upon the Touch

of suspected Witches, &c. he supposes, p. 23. That these Spirits make it the *Cream of their Jest*, to see poor innocent People hang'd, and therefore promote the *Accusation*, and procure the *Condemnation* of these miserable Wretches: To which I answer, That the principal Aim of the malicious Devils is against our *Souls*; They envy Us the Happiness of our Redemption, in which, *unhappy they*, have no Share, and therefore they endeavour to do us all the Mischief they can, by seducing us to Eternal Ruin. Now the Devil would lose the *Cream of his Jest*, if by bringing a poor innocent old Woman into Trouble for Witchcraft, he should thereby put her upon repenting of her Sins, and *gaining a Place*, by such her Repentance, in *Paradise*, which is very likely to be effected by an unjust Prosecution. An innocent Person accused and condemn'd for such a Crime, would naturally beg Pardon for his past Sins, which deserv'd such an heavy Judgment upon him, and perhaps the God of Mercy might accept of such a Temporary Punishment, instead of an Eternal one; so that this *easy* and *unconstrain'd* Account of the Matter, as our Author *thinks* it to be, is by no Means consistent with the known *Policy* of the *Grand Deceiver*.

Again, says he, to the Objection, that such Things have happen'd upon the *Threatnings* of the Parties accused: *the World has stood many Tears*, and therefore it is not to be wonder'd, that there has happen'd in it a notable *Concurrence of Events*. But I say, it is to be wonder'd, that constantly upon the Threats of one particular Person, unaccountable Hurts, and those too the *same* Hurts threatned, should always fall upon the Persons against whom these Evils are denounced, as in the Case of *Jane Wenham*; so that here is Wonder against Wonder. *Par Congressus*.

To the next Objection from the *Confession of Persons accused*, and that particularly of *Jane Wenham*, he answers, that it may be the Effect of *Melancholy*, &c. To which I reply, That in the Case of *Jane Wenham*, it was not to be suppos'd, that either Melancholy, or any thing else but the Terrors of a guilty Conscience extorted this Confession from her; but having fully answer'd this Objection in *Witchcraft farther Display'd*, p. 37. I refer my Reader to the Place.

I find nothing farther in my Author worth any Remark, for his attributing the Notion of Witches to superstitious Fear, is so very inconclusive, and indeed so ridiculous, that it needs no Answer. And then that there have been some Impostures grounded upon this Notion, is what I will not deny, neither doth it any ways effect the present Argument, any more than

the being of Counterfeif Money proves there is no true Gold. So that having nothing more to say, except I would follow my Author's Example, and give my self Thanks and Praise for my Performance, as he does at the End of his Book, which, I think, may as well be let alone: I take my Leave of him, and heartily wish him a good *Night's Rest*, which I believe, he stands in need of, as much as I do.

REMARKS upon a Pamphlet Entituled, *A full Confutation of Witchcraft.*

BEfore I had quite finish'd my Answer to the *Impossibility of Witchcraft*, I receiv'd another Pamphlet, as confident and promising in the Title-page as the former; engaging not only to confute the *Depositions* against *Jane Wenham*, but to prove by Arguments, that *Witchcraft* was *Priestcraft*. Having found by Experience, that such *Big Title-pages*, as *Big Looks* are not the surest Marks of a Man of *Courage*) do not infallibly assure the Reader of a *great Performance*, I made bold to look into the Book. Wherever I cast my Eye, I was accosted with *Priestcraft*, *Pious Frauds*, *Ridiculous Stories*, *Midsummer Nights Dreams*, and other such honourable Appellations arbitrarily impos'd upon the *Matters of Fact* depos'd, and the *Relators* of them saluted with such Compliments as these, a *Parcel of Brain-sick People*; one of the chiefeft of them in particular is called a *Fierce Bigot*, a *Superstitious Believer*—*Wife-acres*—*A Pack of Ideots*, &c. At which I began to be of good *Courage*, well knowing by the plentiful Scatterings of *Billingsgate* Language, That the Arguments were very sparingly sown; for it is certainly below a Gentleman, or a Scholar, to defile his Writings with such scandalous Treatment of *those*, against whom he would be thought to *argue*; which he can never do closely, while he gives himself Leave to rail.

Being thus embolden'd to read over my *Confuter*, I observ'd all along, that his *Confutation* was as *strong*, and his *Reasoning* as *fair*, as his *Language* was *Clean* and *Polite*. The chief Thing he proposes to himself, is to shew the Absurdity and Inconsistency of the *Depositions* against *Jane Wenham*; but as for strong Arguments that *Witchcraft* is *Priestcraft*, if positive Affirmations won't pass as such, he has none for us at present; and 'tis enogh for his Purpose that they stand in the *Title-page*, no matter for the *Book*. Let us see therefore how he

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endeavours to *confute* the Depositions. And first it will be necessary to consider what is required, to the Confutation of credible Testimony upon Oath, relating to Matters of Fact.

I think, it will be agreed upon by all sides, that in order to do this, he that undertakes it, must either *1st*, know so much of the Matter himself, as to be able to prove either by his own Testimony or that of others, that these Witnesses have depos'd what is false. Or, *2dly*, He must be able by comparing one Part of the Evidence with another, to shew some very remarkable Disagreement between the Witnesses, in some very material Circumstances, insomuch that supposing one Part of the Evidence to be true, the other must be false. Or, *3dly*, He must be able to prove, that the Witnesses were so far corrupted as to perjure themselves, and upon what Motives they came to be so corrupted. Or else, *4thly*, He must evidently demonstrate the Impossibility of the Facts alleg'd to be done; and in this Case of Witchcraft, must prove these Facts impossible to be done by the Power of evil Spirits, or that it is impossible for evil Spirits to enter into Contract with Men or Women, and to covenant to do these Things at their Desire, which will do as well. Now one of these four Things, I presume to say, is absolutely necessary to confute the Story of the Witchcrafts of *Jane Wenham*. But our Confuter, it seems, is not of my Mind, and thinks it sufficient to set up his own bare Conjectures against our Oaths, and yet has the Face to call this a full Confutation. To satisfy my Reader that this is not *gratis dictum*, I will desire him to compare, p. 3, 4, and 5. of the *Account of the Discovery of Sorcery and Witchcraft*, with p. 9, and 10. of this full Confutation. I will not transcribe the Story at large out of the fore-mentioned Account, supposing that most of those, who will be Readers of this, may have that by them; but our Author's Account of the Matter I must not omit.

“ Now the genuine Account of the Matter (says he, p. 9.)
 “ seems to be this. *Anne Thorn*, sitting by the Kitchen-Fire,
 “ musing, and her Spirits being under a growing Disorder, as
 “ we may rationally suppose they were by the Sequel: Such
 “ an irregular Motion as stripping her self, might strike up-
 “ on her Fancy, and she be prompted to take off her Gown,
 “ and gather up a few Oaken Twigs, which lie generally
 “ loose about a Kitchen Hearth, and make them up in a
 “ Bundle. That being seiz'd with an Epileptic Fit, as the
 “ Symptom of finding a Roaming in her Head, (by which no
 “ doubt she meant a Giddiness or Vertigo) plainly indicates,
 “ *Jane Wenham*, who was in her Thoughts just at her going
 “ into the Fit, might very probably beat strongly upon her
 “ Ima-

“ Imagination during that Paroxysm ; and that Mrs. *Gardiner*
 “ coming in at the Close of the Fit, and finding her in that
 “ disorder’d Posture, *Anne Thorn* related to her what was so
 “ warm upon her Fancy. This (continues he) is natural to
 “ suppose, without stretching Reason or common Sense.” The
 Reader here finds a meer Conjecture of the Author’s offer’d to
 solve this Phenomenon, without the Maid’s stirring from the
 Fire Side, (which by the bye, was a Coal Fire, and so it was
 not so very probable that Oaken Twiggs might be scatter’d up
 and down the Hearth) but it being impossible that this should
 go down with any sensible Reader, who has taken Notice, that
 two of *John Chapman’s* Men attested, they met her running
 up the Hill with a prodigious Swiftnes, that they endeavour’d
 to stop her, but could not, which was confirm’d by *Daniel*
Chapman, who met her, being on Horseback, *Vide, The full*
Account, p. 5. To get over this Difficulty, he very fairly ac-
 cuses Mr. *Gardiner* and my self (who went immediately upon
 the Relation *Anne Thorn* had given us of her Adventure, to *John*
Chapman’s, to enquire whether his Men had really met her in
 the Way) of willful Subornation of false Witnesses against
Jane Wenham. These are his Words, p. 10. “ But here was a
 “ good Handle for a Story against the suspected *Jane Wenham*;
 “ and when they were furnish’d with such Materials from the poor
 “ Delirant, they might as well make a Wild goose Chase of it, as
 “ let the Scene be confin’d to so narrow a Compass as a Chimney-
 “ Corner. Evidence in such a Case could not be long a procuring.
 Accordingly two of *John Chapman’s* Men are pitched upon as Wit-
 nesses to this half Mile Course of *Anne Thorn’s* ; one of which, I
 presume, was the Fellow that was sent to pick Straws, &c. After
 first acquainting my Author, that he has guess’d wrong, and
 that the Fellow who was sent to pick Straws, was not one of
 the Men that met *Anne Thorn* by the Way ; I demand of him
 how he knows all this to be true ? And if he does not know it
 to be true, if his own Conscience tells him that it is most abo-
 minably false, as indeed it is, how could he have the Face to
 print such a scandalous Untruth ? Is it nothing with him, to
 make so free with Gentlemen’s Reputations, as to expose ’em
 to the World in Print, as the most detestable of perjur’d Sub-
 orners ? Is this the Part of a Gentleman, and a Man of a pub-
 lick Character ? No, this Author’s Usage of Mr. *Gardiner* and
 my self in this Place ; of Mrs. *Gardiner*, p. 20. where he re-
 presents her as one likely enough to perjure her self in her Deposi-
 tion, and give some Colourings of her own, to the ridiculous Ac-
 count she was to relate ; And of Mr. *Strutt*, p. 33. where speak-
 ing of *Wenham’s* Confession to him, the Questions he ask’d her,
 and

and the Answers she returned him, he crys out, *I cannot help believing but the whole Catechism, both Question and Answer, were contriv'd by the Priest.* These base and scandalous Reflections shew so much of the Scoundrel; that I am fully satisfied no *Hertfordshire Physician* is the Author of this Paper, but he who he will, he best deserves to be answer'd by a good Drubbing. And yet forsooth this must be call'd Confutation ! A few ridiculous Conjectures against credible Testimony of Matters of Fact.

At this rate he runs on to confute the whole Story of *Anne Thorne's* Disorder, supposes her to be stark mad, and by and by to the Objection, that *Anne Thorn* was compos'd and free from any Disorder before these Fits, he answers, p. 12. in an obscure *Empyrical Account* of certain *Stagnations* and *Putrefactions* of *Humours* about the *Bowels*, which is nothing at all to the purpose, because *Anne Thorn* was as much compos'd at all other times, as just before her Fits, so that that Composure could not be occasion'd by that *Calm and Slowness of Motion* in the *Animal Spirits*, which is observed in *Maniacks* or *mad People*, just before they fall into their *Distemper*.

After this he comes to *Anne Thorn's* going again to fetch Sticks, and leaping over Five-bar Gates in her Passage, which according to his way of confuting what is upon Oath, he places among the *Midsummer Nights Dreams*. But now he outs with all his Arguments at once: He denies it to be in the Power of any Person, the World calls a Witch, to force any Person against their Wills upon such trifling Errands, or to act so upon them, as to make them leap Five-bar Gates, &c. p. 14. With submission, he that argues against Matter of Fact ought to prove what he asserts. But instead of this, he demands the *Modus* of an evil Spirit's acting upon a Person in the Condition that we suppose *Anne Thorn* to have been in. If we say, that by strong working upon His or Her Imagination he deprives him of his Liberty, then he asks how this Doemon came by his Power ? If to this we answer, That God Almighty, when he created the Angels, gave them greater Power than he has given to Men ; and that it appears from Holy Scripture, that the Devils, altho' fallen from their Primitive Innocence, are yet Spirits of very great Power and Might, and urge that the Devil is called in Holy Writ, the God of this World, and Prince of the Power of the Air ; Appellations which imply a great Superiority of Strength over that of weak and frail Man ; and that the subtil Nature of those Spirits enables them to work very strongly upon Man's Imagination, and consequently upon his Will ; and if we urge all this, I say he thinks he has us sure, by objecting - that

that this is inconsistent with the Providence and Goodness of the Supreme Being. Can it (says he) possibly suit with the Divine Wisdom and Goodness? Is there any Agreement between so immense a Power lodg'd in a revengeful Spirit, and the Divine Love to Mankind joyned with his Knowledge of their Weaknesses? &c. In answer to which, after referring him to what I have said to this Objection, p. 33. Of Witchcraft farther Display'd, and what I have also said in that Part of my Answer to the Impossibility of Witchcraft, where I argue against those who make the Assertors of the real Existence of Witches ascribe to the Devil an Omnipotent Power. I say, That this Objection is as strong against God's permitting the Devil to inflict Diseases upon our Bodies, as in the Case of Holy Job, whose Story is a convincing Proof, whatever some may say, of God's permitting the Devil to afflict us in our Bodies and Estates too, when for wise and good Reasons he shall think fit. It is also as strong against the Power of the Devil violently to bend our Inclinations, and strongly tempt us to Sin; nay, the Argument is so much the stronger in this Case, by how much the Damage he does to our Souls, is greater than any he can inflict upon our Bodies. But as God has promised us, that we shall not be tempted beyond what we are able, and that with the Temptation, he will provide for us a Way to escape; so also in these Afflictions of our Bodies, by the Power of evil Spirits, God will find a Way to deliver us, altho' for a Time he suffers us to be afflicted for wise and good Reasons, which may perhaps lie hidden from our Sight, yet are never the less wise and good for being so. Especially, if by earnest Prayer we seek unto him for Help, whose mighty Arm is able to protect us from all the Power and Malice of the Devil and his Angels, and to make us full Amends for these Temporary Sufferings, provided we make a right Use of them, with an Eternal Weight of Glory.

In the next Place, my Author wonders how a Dæmon, that has no Body of his own, p. 16. should act upon Human Bodies, and seems to be of their Opinion, that Matter only can act upon Matter, and that by Contact only. I shall not at present enter into a Dispute, whether Spirit alone can act upon Matter, since he thinks fit to let this aside as too abstruse, and shall only say, that supposing according to the Platonic Philosophy, every Spirit informs some material Vehicle, whether Aerial or Æthereal it matters not, and that by condensing this Vehicle it may act upon more solid Bodies, this may very easily be accounted for; nay indeed, enough to serve our present Purpose may be gathered from Spirits being able to work

work upon other Spirits, without any regard had to the Intervention of Matter. The Devil may so act upon Men Souls, which are Spirits, as to engage them to move their Bodies whither he pleases, as in the case of *Anne Thorn's* running for Sticks.

But he goes on, p. 16. You'll say, perhaps the Supreme Being permits this *Dæmon* or Familiar to enter the Body of the Person, and so actuate it as it pleases. What a Chain of Absurdities must we admit of here! We must suppose God working a Miracle upon every trifling Occasion to oblige the evil Spirits, &c. Here he takes notice of a Solution of the Matter, which is very clear and rational; for supposing a *Dæmon* enters the Body of the Afflicted, which is indeed probable enough, an easy Account may then be given of all these surprizing Appearances. No, but (says he) this must not be allow'd, because it supposes God working a Miracle to oblige the evil Spirits; to which I answer, that this implies no *Miracle*, but only God's bare *Permission*, it being no more than Spirits may easily do, if permitted, according to the *Laws* and *Capacity* of their *Condition*. Besides our Author's Consequence will also prove, that God worked a Miracle for the evil Spirits, when ever they enter'd the *Dæmoniacks* in the Gospel, to drive the Devil out of whom our Saviour was at the Expence of a Miracle. Than which, nothing can be more blasphemous and absurd. But perhaps to this he will reply, that the Words *having a Devil*, are only a *Figurative* Expression, and signify no more than having strange and incurable *Diseases*. But the Vanity of this Evalion will easily appear from the Consideration that the *Cure of Diseases* is plainly distinguished in Holy Writ from *casting out Devils*. We read, *Mat. 4. 24. And they brought unto him all sick People, that were taken with divers Diseases and Torments, and those that were possess'd with Devils, and those that were Lunatick, &c. So Luke 16. 18. He healed them of their Diseases, and those that were vexed with unclean Spirits were brought unto him, and he healed them likewise.* Add to this, that the Devils cry'd out of those that were possess'd among the *Gergasens*, *Mat. 8. 16.* and besought our Saviour, saying, *Suffer us to go into the Herd of Swine.* Now the Persons afflicted could not be thought to desire this, that were an unaccountable sort of Possession indeed, for a Man to enter into Swine; so that it must be meant of the Devil, who spoke out of the Man. Many Instances of this may be produc'd from Scripture, but these shall suffice at present.

This Confuter having now spent his Stock of Arguments, goes on with his *sheer Banter*, as I suppose he thinks it, tho'

others are of Opinion, that it is nothing but Misrepresentation and ill Language. For my part, I think it below my Regard, till I come to the 18th Page, where for our own Vindication I am oblig'd to take notice of a notorious Untruth, which I wonder how he could have the Confidence to think of imposing upon his Readers, who might at one Glance only, upon turning to the Place referr'd to, find out his unfair Representation of the Matter. *Great Stress*, says he, is laid upon *Jane Wenham's* repeating that Sentence in the Lord's Prayer, *Lead us not into Temptation*, with two *Negatives*. Now we were so far from laying any great Stress upon this, that he cannot make it appear that any stress at all is laid upon it. In two Places of the *Account of the Discovery*, &c. mention is made of her not being able to say the Lord's Prayer, p. 10, & 12. P. 10. it is said, that she could not say this Sentence, *Forgive us our Trespases*, nor this, *Lead us not into Temptation*. In the 12th Page are express'd the various Ways she had of turning and winding these two Sentences together, *Lead us not into Temptation, but deliver us not from Evil*; and among these Changes of Expression, she once repeats the first of these Sentences with two *Negatives*. But no stress is laid upon that, any more than any other of her ways of repeating those Sentences. Nor indeed is any so great stress laid upon her not being able to say the Lord's Prayer, it is by no means made, as my Confuter calls it, the *Criterion of a Witch*. It has indeed been an old Observation, that Witches could not say the Lord's Prayer: We had a mind to try this Experiment on *Jane Wenham*, we found she could not do it; this seem'd to us a *Circumstance of Guilt*, but we never thought it a *convincing Proof*, or made use of it as such.

I pass by the rest of his Railery, till we come to *Jane Wenham's* Confession to Mr. *Strutt*, to evade the Strength of which, he says the Questions were all *ensnaring and superficial*, p. 33. I know not what he may call an *ensnaring Question*; to ask any Person accused of a Capital Crime, whether he be guilty or no, may in one sense be called *ensnaring*, since upon Confession follows Conviction and Sentence. As for their being *superficial*, if asking her whether she was a Witch or no, how long she had been so, what induc'd her to bewitch this Maid, and the like, are Questions not to the purpose; I would gladly know what may be thought so. 'Tis true they might have asked her more Questions, but the reason why they did not, was because her Kinsman *Archer* declar'd himself fully satisfied in her Guilt, and they were so stricken with Horror at the Discovery of so much Wickedness, that the great Concern that was upon them made them unwilling for the present to hear

hear any more, and indeed no good Man but would be more than ordinarily troubled at the first Discovery of such Hellish Combinations with the Devil. This struck a Damp upon their Spirits which made them glad to retire, and their pursuing the Matter no farther, when she was in the confessing Humour, is a strong Argument that they meant not the least Harm to the poor old Woman, bore no ill Will to her, but only to the horrid Crime whereof she stood accus'd.

The rest of this Confuter's Comment on the Story of *Jane Wenham*, being of a Piece with the former, and consisting of nothing, but a few Misrepresentations and ridiculous Conjectures, I don't think worth taking any farther Notice of. But this Author being not the only one who makes Sport with *Anne Thorn's* recovering out of her Fits by Prayers, I shall conclude this with a Word or two concerning this good Effect of Prayer. And here I must observe, that the Reverend Clergymen, who pray'd by *Anne Thorn* in her Fits, were so far from arrogating to themselves any extraordinary Power of dispossessing the Devil, that they never once made use of any *Adjurations* or other Forms of *Exorcism* whatsoever. They did not so much as attempt to *command* the evil Spirit to come out of the Afflicted, by the powerful Name of *Jesus*, at which the Devils tremble, and all the Powers of Hell are more dismay'd, than the whistling Scepticks of this Age. No, they took a modest Course, immediately address'd themselves to the Throne of Grace, and implor'd the Assistance of Heaven; they knew, that the Almighty Arm alone was sufficient against such extraordinary Insults of the Devil, and therefore in an humble Manner they called for Help from God, and no sooner had they begun to pray, but they found their Prayers answer'd, even before they were all offer'd up. As for what this Confuter says, that *they having a round Number of Collects to ply the afflicted Anne Thorn with, 'twas ten to one if the Paroxysm did not abate in that Time*, p. 46. I answer, 'twas always observ'd, that she began to recover immediately at the *Beginning* of the Prayers; and by the Time we had repeated three or four Sentences of the Lord's Prayer, which was generally the first used, she was able to join with us in the rest, altho' the Minute before she was speechless, and to all Appearance senseless; and this constantly happen'd sometimes in the very Beginning of a Fit, within a Minute or two after it had seiz'd her, in which Time the Paroxysm could not abate naturally, and by Degrees, which is indeed a very good Reason, why the Abatement of her Fits should be attributed to the Success of Prayers.

I wish these Gentlemen, who are so angry at our calling upon God in this Extremity, would shew us a better Way. We are directed by St. James, chap. 5. v. 14, 15. to use this as the best Remedy, *Is any sick among you, let him call for the Elders of the Church, and let them pray over him—and the Prayer of Faith shall save the Sick.* And for our Encouragement he tells us, v. 16. *The effectual fervent Prayer of a righteous Man availeth much;* which he confirms in the two following Verses by the Example of Elias, who prayed earnestly that it might not rain, and it rained not for the Space of three Years and six Months; and he prayed again, and the Heavens gave Rain, &c. This we have found by our own Experience to be true, that God is ready to hear and answer the Prayers of his faithful Servants, and we hope it may serve in some measure to create a due Reverence and Respect to Prayers in general, and those of our Holy Church in particular, so happily used on this Occasion, which is all the Advantage the Clergy expect to reap, from this remarkable Occurrence, which can never be thought (as our Author injuriously suggests) to bring in any, much less weighty Offerings.

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P. 429. 434. "I am well informed, that the late Dr. Stebbing, when a young man, wrote a pamphlet or two in favour of Jane Wenham [condemned for a witch at Hertford, 1712]. This poor woman, against the opinion of the judge who tried her, was found guilty by the jury. She however received a pardon from the Queen; and a gentleman in the country provided her an apartment over his stables, sent her victuals from his table, and suffered her to attend on his children. She was ever after looked upon by the family as an honest, good-natured woman. Mr. Bragge, in his evidence on her trial, declared, on the faith of a clergyman, he believed her to be a witch; whereupon the judge told him, that therefore, on the truth of a judge, he took him to be no conjurer." He also told the jury that they should not look for witches among the old women, but among the young.

WITCHCRAFT:—WENHAM (Jane, *the Witch of Walkerne, Herts*)
TRACTS concerning: Account of her Sorcery and Witchcraft upon
the Bodies of Anne Thorne, Anne Street, etc., with her Tryal, *E.*
Curll, 1712—Case of the Hertfordshire Witchcraft Considered, and
Examination of the Preceding, '12—Bragge (J.) Defence of the
Proceedings against Jane Wenham, *corner of title neatly mended,*
E. Curll, '12—in 1 vol. post 8vo. calf, SCARCE, £1. 4s

This case caused a great deal of stir and discussion. Jane Wenham was found guilty of
the charge on which she was tried, viz. "for conversing with the Devil in the shape of a
Cat," and was sentenced to Death on March 4th, 1712.

JANE WENHAM, THE WALKERNE "WITCH."

At the beginning of the last century the public mind was considerably agitated by a tale of witchcraft said to have been practised by Jane Wenham, of Walkerne, in this county; whose trial gave rise to various pamphlets in which the question of witchcraft was argued with much vehemence and passion. The trial itself went through several editions under the title of "A full and impartial account of the discovery of sorcery and witchcraft, practised by Jane Wenham of Walkerne in Hertfordshire, upon the bodies of Anne Thorne and Anne Street, &c." The proceedings against her from her first being committed to gaol by Sir Hy Chauncey; also her Tryal at the Assizes at Hertford before Mr. Justice Powell, where she was found guilty of felony and witchcraft, and received sentence of death for the same Mar. 4th 1711-12 By T. Bragge, 8vo." This poor woman, against the opinion of Judge Powell, who tried her, was found guilty by the jury. She, however, received a pardon from the Queen; and a gentleman in the county provided her an apartment over his stables, sent her victuals from his table, and suffered her to attend on his children. She was ever after looked upon by the family as an honest, good-natured woman. See Burt's letters from the north of Scotland, vol. I. 280. Mr. Bragge, in his evidence on her trial, declared, on "the faith of a clergyman," that "he believed her to be a witch," whereupon the Judge told him that "therefore on the truth of a judge, he took him to be a non-juror." (Gough's Brit. Top. I. 434). This was replied to by "The case of the Hertfordshire Witchcraft considered," 1712, a copy of which I have in my library. Bragge, vicar of Hitchin, published a second tract, called "Witchcraft further displayed," vindicating himself and upholding the existence of witchcraft, Lond. 1712, 8vo. Then followed "The impossibility of Witchcraft," 8vo., ascribed to Mr. Pittis, 1712, and also "A full Confutation of Witchcraft in a letter from a physician in Herts to a friend in London," 8vo., 1712. The last two were answered by "Defence of the proceedings against Jane Wenham," &c., by Bragge, A.B. Lond. 1712. Also the "Belief of Witchcraft vindicated," &c., by S.R.A.M., answered by "The impossibility of Witchcraft further demonstrated," &c., &c. Six years after, in 1716, the affair was again discussed by Dr. Hutchinson in his historical essay concerning witchcraft, chap. 10, pp. 1-29.—A. E. GIBBS.

Stobbing copied for

401 Hertfordshire Witches.—The Case of the Hertfordshire Witchcraft considered, being an Examination of a Work entitled "a full and impartial Account of the Discovery of Sorcery and Witchcraft practised by JANE WENHAM of Walkern, upon the Bodies of ANNE THORNE, ANNE STREET, etc." (86 pages), 8vo, unbound, very scarce, 7s 6d 1712

WITCHCRAFT—Trial of Jennet Preston, of Gisborne in Craven, at the York Assizes, July, 1612, for practising Devilish and Wicked Arts, called Witchcraft, post 8vo. sewed, 1s. 6d. 1851

* * "The whole process shows the ridiculous evidence that was deemed sufficient in the reign of James the First to deprive a poor helpless creature of life."—*Athenæum*.

17 A FULL and particular Account of the Discovery of Sorcery and Witchcraft, practised by Jane Wenham, *the reputed Hertfordshire Witch*, till her Commitment by SIR HENRY CHAUNCEY, 8vo, pamphlet, uncut, VERY SCARCE, 5s 1712



